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AUTHOR Gundara, Jagdish; Jones, Crispin
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ABSTRACT

The educational needs of the long-term unemployed and elderly in Europe's migrant communities should be understood in a context of state diversity and migration complexity. This report examines the role education plays in alleviating long-term unemployment in Europe's migrant communities and socioeconomic isolation among older migrants. Compared to nonmigrant communities, figures show migrant communities' continued disadvantages in employment. Xenophobia, discrimination, and racism are all influential factors regarding migrant unemployment. Recently, however, governments and communities have created effective educational interventions, including some researched by the Council of Europe. Success rates are higher when four conditions are met: (1) students are motivated; (2) the "skills gap" and labor need are effectively identified; (3) general rates of unemployment are low; and (4) the status of training courses is perceived by participants to be high. A field survey of migrant households found that most older migrants lacked social support and social roles, were distressed by shame and guilt, and had lost contact with their families. Older migrant adults require effective educational models and professional services to help them combat a series of social, health, and psychological problems. New citizenship rights for migrants, a pan-European race-relations policy against discrimination and racism, along with further study are called for. (TES)

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Only questions related to national defence are excluded from the Council of Europe's work, and the Organisation has activities in the following areas: democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms; media and communication; social and economic affairs; education, culture, heritage and sport; youth; health; environment and regional planning; local democracy; and legal co-operation.

The **European Cultural Convention** was opened for signature in 1954. This international treaty is open to European countries that are not members of the Council of Europe, and it enables them to take part in the Organisation's programmes on education, culture, sport and youth. So far, 31 states have acceded to the European Cultural Convention: the Council of Europe's full member states plus Bulgaria, the Holy See, Romania, Russia and Yugoslavia.

The **Council for Cultural Co-operation (the CDCC)** is responsible for the Council of Europe's work on **education** and **culture**. Four specialised committees — the Education Committee, the Standing Conference on University Problems, the Culture Committee and the Cultural Heritage Committee — help the CDCC to carry out its tasks under the European Cultural Convention. There is also a close working relationship between the CDCC and the regular conferences of specialised European ministers responsible for education, culture and cultural heritage.

The CDCC's programmes are an integral part of the Council of Europe's work, and, like the programmes in other sectors, they contribute to the Organisation's three over-arching policy objectives for the 1990s:
— the protection, reinforcement and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms and pluralist democracy;
— the promotion of an awareness of European identity;
— the search for common responses to the great challenges facing European society.

The CDCC's education programme covers school, higher and adult education, as well as educational research. At present, its main priorities are projects on: the European dimension of secondary education; university co-operation; adult education and social change; modern languages; and the pooling of the results of educational research.

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Long-term unemployed and the elderly in migrant communities in Europe

Jagdish Gundara and Crispin Jones
Centre for Multicultural Education
University of London

Council for Cultural Co-operation
School and out-of-school education section

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INTRODUCTION

This report is a preliminary investigation into the role of intercultural education generally, and adult education within a multicultural context specifically, in combating:

i. long term unemployment within the migrant population[1] in Europe;

ii. the social and economic isolation of older migrants who increasingly tend to stay in the place of migration and/or their host country after their retirement[2].

The report was commissioned by the Council of Europe in late 1989 and was completed in July 1990[3]. Given the time scale involved, this report is mainly indicative in its scope but hopefully demonstrates the growing importance of this area for educational policy makers and others within Europe. In particular, we hope that it will enable a fuller discussion to take place about the educational provision that is currently being provided for our increasing population of elderly and retired members of migrant community groups.

There are four sections to this report. An opening context setting section is followed by a more detailed look at firstly, the educational needs of the long term unemployed amongst the European migrant population, and secondly, a similar examination in relation to the elderly migrants.

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[1] The term "migrant" will be used in its strict sense, namely to refer to those people who have migrated to and within Europe in the period under investigation. It does not refer to their non-migrant descendants, even though they may well suffer from similar forms of oppression, discrimination and disadvantage. However, the term "migrant communities" can be used to describe groups of migrants and their non migrant descendants living with them. The important point is that these communities are increasingly an integral and permanent feature of all European nations. [c.f. p.9 et seq.]

[2] Like the term "migrant", concepts such as "host" and "retirement" also need clear definition. "Host" is seen as problematic in English. For a member of a migrant community who was born in the state concerned, the term "host" is inappropriate. For the migrant, it has connotations of welcome and warmth which do not readily relate to many migrants' reality. As a consequence, "receiving" country is a more appropriate English term. "Retirement" is a shorthand term given the number of older women involved who may not have been in waged employment and thus not formally retired, and should therefore be read as including this and any other not formally retired group.

[3] This final draft was completed in June 1991.

Finally, there is a brief section of conclusions and recommendations.

The authors are grateful to the many people who gave so willingly of their time, often at short notice, to help us with the compilation of the report. In particular, we would like to thank Mr. Mehmet Onat of the Council of Europe as well as the Council of Europe library for making available a wide range of documents on the areas investigated. We would also like to thank the library staff at the Centre for Policy on Ageing in London, Professor Keith McLeod of the University of Toronto for assistance with North American material, and Ms. Maureen Cooper for her advice and information about policies and educational materials for elderly people. Thanks are also due to the participants and organisers of the recent Council of Europe's seminar Working with Ethnic Minority Older Learners held at the London City Literary Institute. The authors are extremely grateful to Ms Sarah Jones and Ms Diane D Nair for the diligent work they have done in the compilation and completion of this report.

The views contained in the report are, however, our own and should not be seen as necessarily reflecting those held by the Council of Europe.

Finally, we would particularly like to thank people from migrant communities who were suffering from long term unemployment for sharing their thoughts and feelings with us. We are equally grateful to the many elderly people from migrant communities who also shared their feelings with us as to the nature of growing old in a generally uncaring society. If this report does anything to change their lives and the lives of others like them, it will have been a worthwhile exercise.

THE CONTEXT

In order to understand more clearly the major concerns of this report, this section will examine three elements that help to contextualise such concerns. This examination is done in the belief that descriptions of policies and practices in respect of the educational needs of the long term unemployed and the elderly within the migrant communities in Europe need this positioning if they are to be evaluated with any hope of sensitivity and effectiveness.

Specifically, such an examination of context concerns itself with:

i. an examination of European states and their diversity,

ii. the nature of migration and its contemporary European condition,

iii. current initiatives by the Council of Europe relating to the concerns of this report.

i. European states and diversity.

The educational needs of the long term unemployed and the elderly in Europe cannot be viewed outside of their political, economic and legal context and framework. The provision of democratic rights for all those who live in Europe raises fundamental questions about the governance of European states within which the entitlements of all individuals and groups are not currently fostered. Such questions ought to involve a reappraisal of how individuals and groups perceive each other, and ought to ensure that equality for all groups is seen as a matter of necessity rather than an option.

Two issues highlight how this broader framework affects the educational concerns of this report. The first is the role and position of the state within contemporary Europe, and the second is the issue of democratic involvement and accountability. On the first, the state has been seen as a thing of the past by many scholars. For example, Saint-Simon, educated before the French Revolution, was used to thinking of Europe as a cultural whole and looked upon nationalism as a thing of the past.. However, even with the advent of greater European integration, such as in the post 1992 European Community, the importance of the state has not receded, despite their increasing interdependence. We still see European leaders who stress that European states

should remain separate and sovereign national entities and who value state nationalism.

The second issue is that of democratic involvement and accountability. This is an issue of importance in relation to this report because Europe contains diverse populations who do not have equality and equal access to power. More, such inequalities cause less concern than they might to many of Europe's states, and current preoccupation with the democratic virtues of the free market are not axiomatically the best basis for democratic accountability, particularly for those groups within Europe whose social rights and entitlement require recognition and implementation. To counter accusations about such states being inward looking, it is important that notions of "fortress Europe" are avoided in all their manifestations. This is particularly so for the refugees and asylum seekers who need to escape tyranny in other countries.

A further aspect of this issue which causes concern is an often unspoken lack of consideration for so called non-western cultures. Here, the American writer, Francis Fukuyama openly states something which is still too often thought when he says:

> It matters very little what strange thoughts occur to people in Albania or Burkina Faso[4].

This denial of voices is not only inherently anti-democratic but assumes a uniformity based on a dominant discourse, i.e. it matters very little to whom?

In fact, such views implicitly support further denials and discrimination. The de facto if not de jure denial of legal entitlements to certain minority and migrant groups within Europe and the negation of their political and human rights bodes ill, not just for the future of the long term unemployed and the elderly within such groups, but for the groups as a whole and indeed, for the future of the societies of which they are a part.

This last point deserves elaboration, for it is one of the foundations of this report that many of the educational [and other] issues that face the migrant communities in Europe derive from the basis of their non-recognition by the societies of which they are an integral part. Often, different formulations and terminologies are used to exclude them from the body politic, as the whole debate about the term "foreigners" indicates. However, to suggest that European societies have recently become diverse or multicultural, suggests that there has been no historically based diversity within European states, which is an obvious and dangerous historical nonsense. Post war migration into

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[4] Quoted in The Guardian, 4 November, 1989.

Europe thus did not create these issues, it merely made existing societal fractures more obvious.

This is a particularly important point to make, because if European states are presented as inherently monolithic, monocultural and monolingual, this can lead to the false perception that the groups which are seen as being different are also the cause of the problems created by societal diversity. However, any rigorous examination of European states demonstrates their ethnically based genealogies in respect of their different languages, regions, social classes, families, religions and traditions. Although the national and societal frameworks attempt to institute equality and combat discrimination as an aspect of citizenship, they rarely succeed in practice.

Part of the reason for this is that the image of the modern and impersonal European state often masks its particularistic ethnic origins and this can often lead to feelings of anomie and rootlessness among the disadvantaged groups from many of the minority and migrant communities within the state. The xenophobic responses of other, or a combination of other, often themselves economically disadvantaged groups, can constitute a particularly grave danger to vulnerable sections of the migrant groups like the unemployed and the elderly. Such xenophobia, scapegoating and racism in turn can lead to a siege mentality on the part of its victims, which is seen as confirmation of their "otherness" by their attackers. The job for teachers and educators, therefore, becomes extremely difficult, particularly if the issues are incorrectly framed and addressed. It is therefore important to examine how to tackle these complex issues so that education systems can tackle them within a more rational framework. For example, if the tutor or teacher is going to work in classrooms containing long-term unemployed people who have had inculcated into them the false but comforting notions of exclusive national communities, then any migrant community person present will remain on the margins and periphery of the pedagogic and, at best, institutional discourse. Thus, those areas of the education system that deal with the elderly and the long-term unemployed, as much as any other, require a framework which allows them to engage creatively and constructively with these issues because of their centrality to the process of education. Such issues for education exist in an even more poignant form for those migrant communities who live amongst subordinated nationalities within the larger European states. As Nigel Grant, himself a Scot, has noted,

> ...the ethnic groups in Scotland have the additional problem of being minorities within a minority. They have come to terms, somehow, with their identity as Sikhs or Poles or whatever vis-a-vis the majority community in Scotland; but

> they also have to work out their identity in the larger context of the United Kingdom, within which the Scots of all kinds are an identifiable minority..... Many Gaels, Irish, Italians and Poles have, rightly or wrongly, assimilated into Lowland Scottish anglophobe culture; what has prevented many Asians from doing so and driven them back into their traditional cultures is racism[5].

From this, it is clear that, in order to engage with the education of unemployed adults and the elderly, these complexities cannot be ignored, either across or within national boundaries.

Another element in this complex issue is that there are perceptions and perspectives which those who have settled in Europe have experienced for themselves. Action in relation to the educational needs of the elderly and the long term unemployed would be flawed if such perspectives were ignored. This is because one of the things that becomes clear to many people who come to work and live in Europe is the existing diversity of European societies and also the unitary [and often anti-diversity] state structures which govern them.

It is clearly essential to build on these experiences and understandings and not to ignore the reading of Europe by those who have settled here. Those who have come to settle have acquired perceptions and experiences of European societies which need to be built upon. Their understandings of European societies, and their futures within them, are thus based on the diversity the settlers have themselves observed, but which the states within which they live often ignore. Thus, for example, the presence of the Lapps in Sweden, the Scots and the Welsh in Britain, the Bretons in France; the existence of different European languages and dialects; the religious conflicts as well as religious co-existence in various parts of Europe, have not gone unnoticed by those who have come to settle in Europe in the post-World War II period. As a consequence, when these settlers come across discussions about diversity in society, or discussions about racism and multiculturalism in education as only being a consequence of <u>their</u> presence, they are surprised. They feel that such questions relate not only to their own presence in Europe but to fundamental questions about the nature and purpose of the modern state and the position such states have taken in regard to the presence of minorities within their body politic. For instance, they observe the problems faced by the Gypsies or, more appropriately, the Roma in Western Europe. As Puxon has observed of this community, the

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[5] Grant, (1985), p. 93.

> ...accumulative effects of neglect and persecution are catastrophic[6].

Many of the recent settlers can understand the plight of the Roma, because they themselves have experienced similarly catastrophic effects of colonialism, underdevelopment and racism.

Following the consequences of this perception, it is obvious that, since European societies are complex entities with diverse populations, it requires complex negotiations to ascertain what their potential identities are likely to be. One consequence of this is that as the Auslander or the migrants have increasingly settled in Europe, there has been a concern about defining their legal and political position within European societies. Their position in legal and political terms is continually being changed (usually to their detriment), through legislation.
As and when these groups resist discriminatory legislation or racism in European countries, they do not do so on the basis of some form of ethnic solidarity but as Turkish nationals in Germany or as African, Asian and Caribbean peoples [often using the political label "blacks"] in Britain[7].

Thus, the position, identity and description of migrant and other minority communities within Europe has to be seen as a problematic which is frequently misconstrued by many people. Too often the debate is around a "them and us" axis, within which it is unlikely that any harmonious and just solution to the disadvantage and discrimination faced by the migrant communities can be achieved.

ii. The nature of migration and its contemporary European condition.

The previous section indicated that the lack of understanding of issues relating to migration, minorities and the modern European state was a major factor in the continuing lack of concerted progress in bringing about greater social justice for many of the migrant communities within Europe. As part of that process of understanding, it is critically important to understand the process of migration, particularly as exemplified in Europe since 1945, for such an understanding reveals crucial information about the migrant communities and their relationships with the countries and communities within which they are currently located. Indeed, as the current parallel

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[6] Puxon, (1980), p. 14.

[7] As a consequence of this, the use of the term "ethnicity" by social scientists has certainly not helped in clarifying this complex issue. This is because dominant ethnicities are rarely defined and examined in this framework.

international debate about the status of Vietnamese "economic" and "political" refugees reveals, the reasons behind the movement of peoples, or to be more precise, the nature of, and weighting given to "push" and "pull" factors, are still a difficult and contentious area for debate.

However, an initial conceptual dilemma has to be mentioned, even if it can only be resolved operationally, namely the proper scientific meaning of the terms "migration" and "migrant". The terms have to relate to four inter-related aspects of demographic movement per se, and given their relativity, their usage requires careful analysis. The four aspects relate to changes in a person's spatial location, their place of residence, their forms of economic and other activities and the duration of such changes. There is currently no agreement as to how these criteria may be abstractly defined so as to distinguish migration from other forms of movement such as short term contract labour, tourism and the movement of the Roma and other travelling people. There is therefore the need to accept operational definitions.

An example of such an operational definition would be that migrants are people who change their place of residence, and, in so doing, cross some identified administrative boundary, national or internal. Such migration may be accompanied by a change in economic and other practices and the definition would be subject to some minimal time threshold. It is also useful to distinguish short term migration, often related to agricultural cycles, from long term, permanent migration, although again, such distinctions have to remain operational ones.

Finally, it is useful to identify patterns in migration flows, be they in relation to chain or step migration, to individual or household migration and also to demographic patterns within such flows. The latter patterns would include data about the sex and age of migrants which are essential for the provision of effective social policy to meet their needs.

The important consideration in this excursion into definitional puzzles is not that exactitude is impossible but that the definitions that are used, by individual states and by international agencies, as well as those used by experts, contain within them ideological positions about the status of migrants within the areas being investigated. Thus migrants can be defined in such a way as to exclude groups of people [or include them], depending on the partialities of those constructing the definitions.

As a result, each state within Europe defines its migrant population in subtly different ways, usually as a consequence of differing histories of settlement, of definition of citizenship and indeed, differing traditions

within the social sciences that examine the phenomena in question[8].

In addition, when dealing with migration that crosses national boundaries [or international boundaries such as those of the European Community], as opposed to internal migration, other, less tangible, factors appear to come into play. For what many national definitions have in common is still an implicit sense of "foreignness" based on notions of exclusion, rather than a desire for inclusion, based on beliefs in human rights and dignities. This is not to maintain that all definitions are wrong or useless. Nor is it a rejection of state's reasonable desire to control migration and settlement into its territory. It is more a concern that the debates about the migrant populations within Europe, some of which were touched upon in the previous section, all too often co-exist with other debates dominated by xenophobia and racism, leading to a consequent worry that the definitional debate is not the neutral framing to such discourses that it is often thought to be.

This data is difficult to collect, although most European states do attempt to collect it. An added complication is that, as some forms of migration are seen as illegal by the receiving country, such data as is collected may be a considerable underestimation of the number of people actually involved.

These difficulties apart, it is important to note the recent and contemporary migration in Europe in relation to at least four different modalities, viz:

a. migration into Europe.
b. migration out of Europe.
c. migration within Europe.
d. migration within the states of Europe, particularly urban/rural migration.

It is perhaps the first that currently exercises European social policy most, namely migration into Europe from outside. In particular, this is a South to North movement, in this case with the term South being used as a shorthand to denote mainly ex-colonial less developed countries [LDCs].

The second flow, migration out of Europe, although of enormous significance in Europe's recent past in relation, say, to the United States of America, is currently of less significance, although there are clearly groups,such as

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[8] Attempts to standardise migration statistics are being made, most notably by the Statistical Division of the UN Economic Commission for Europe and the Statistical Office of the EC. However, progress is very slow and the current unsatisfactory position is likely to continue for some time.

Jewish people, and states within Europe, such as Ireland, for whom it is still an important issue.

The third migration flow is that within Europe, usually from the less economically advantaged peripheral areas to the economically advantaged cores. Again, this is predominantly a South to North pattern, with a clear flow from countries such as Greece, Yugoslavia, Spain and Portugal to the industrially prosperous states in the North East of Europe such as Germany. However, recent events in Central and Eastern Europe may lead to a new major axis of migration.

Finally, there is internal migration, a process older than the states themselves. This is mainly a movement from the rural areas to the towns and is a process that shows few signs of diminution. However, government, and in some cases, EC action, coupled with the growth of second home ownership and tourism may often disguise its effects in some of the rural areas in question.

At this point, it is important to move from general statements about European migration and examine some of the major concerns about recent migration and settlement patterns within Europe. This is because these patterns often change more quickly than the social policies designed to address issues consequent upon them. Furthermore, general European trends, as opposed to national ones, are even more slowly determined and their details disseminated, a cause of some concern at a time of greater European cohesiveness.

The late 1980s have shown consistent trends in European migration patterns, although clearly there has been significant state variation[9]. The economic recovery within Europe has meant a steady growth of in-migration, which although far from the levels of the sixties, is still higher than in the earlier years of that decade. However, in relation to the migrant communities, such figures may conceal some issues as much as they reveal others. Some of these issues are:

i. the internal natural population increase in these communities is a significant factor, although, as expected, fertility rates are reverting to national norms with time.

ii. naturalisation is another increasingly significant process, which can artificially reduce the size of some migrant communities in the official statistics.

iii. "regularisation" of illegal migration, recent examples of which are France and Italy, suggests that it

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[9] The demographic data that follows is mainly drawn from recent OECD SOPEMI reports,[OECD, 1987, 1988 and 1989].

remains a significant, albeit difficult to quantify, factor in relation to the increase in size of certain migrant communities.

iv. the familiar trilogy of migration types, namely family reconstitution or reunification, single workers and political refugees continues, with an emphasis on a general increase in the first and third types. Furthermore, although the final statistical picture is not yet clear, it is obvious that recent momentous events in Central and Eastern Europe will have led to an unusual and perhaps one-off rise in asylum seekers, particularly in Germany.

v. Increasingly, the traditional division between migration and settlement is becoming blurred. European countries that have traditionally seen themselves as countries with a migrant population are realising, often reluctantly, that the migrant population is increasingly becoming a settled one.

vi. A further blurring of a traditional distinction is the one between the North and South of Europe in respect of migration. Spain, Italy and Greece are now becoming countries of significant migration like their northern counterparts.

Such data supports the view that the educational issues raised by the migrant communities are not ones that will diminish over time. Rather their forms may change. In particular, the evidence suggests that there will be an increasingly elderly migrant community population in line with the generally ageing population increasingly characteristic of Europe as a whole. It further suggests, and this will be gone into in more detail later in this report, that existing patterns of unemployment within the increasingly settled migrant communities are likely to be a permanent and deeply worrying feature of their community life unless firm action is taken.

iii. Current initiatives by the Council of Europe relating to the concerns of this report.

The aim of the Council of Europe education programme is to help the member states in their efforts to improve their education systems. In particular, the Council of Europe seeks to:

- bring new ideas, new techniques and new achievements in one member state to the notice of all;

- study questions which have been identified as important by the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, and the Parliamentary Assembly;

- increase contacts and co-operation between European educators;

- develop mutual aid among member States;

- make the peoples of Europe aware of their common heritage and of their common responsibilities as Europeans;

- develop among Europeans, as well as between European and the people of other parts of the world, a climate of active understanding of and a respect for the qualities and culture of each other.

The Council of Europe's education programme has changed considerably since the Organisation was set up in 1949, two constant themes have been education for citizenship and education for international/intercultural understanding. These have been studied under a variety of headings - textbook revision, European civics education, social and civic education, teaching about human rights, participation, preparation for life in society, teacher training, and now education and cultural development of migrants, that is to say, education for life in a multicultural society.

The lasting interest in these two themes reflects the fact that the Council of Europe, which has played a pioneering role in establishing machinery for the international protection of human rights, is devoted to the principle that respect for the dignity and intrinsic equality of all human beings is the very basis of a democratic and pluralistic society.

Two projects in particular are relevant here. The first was the CDCC's Project No. 7, starting in 1980, dealing with the education and cultural development of migrants; the second was the CDCC's Project No. 9, starting in 1981, on adult education and community development.[10]

iii.i. Project No. 7, on the education and cultural development of migrants. Here are a few points from this work of the Council of Europe that illustrate the points that have just been made.

> There is no doubt that the educational environment is one of the principal sources of intolerance, together with legal, social and economic inequalities which are

[10] Both these projects produced a great deal of useful material in these areas of concern. C.f. the final Bibliography of this report for details of the Final Reports of these two Projects.

the root causes of such intolerance.[11]

> Although multicultural societies are growing, school systems have remained rigid and concentrated on a monocultural situation. This leaves no room for the concept of culture as a dynamic process.[12]

No multicultural society - and most European societies are bound to recognise their de facto multicultural nature - given the mass migration of the last three decades - can hope to have its multiculturalism recognised in law and in spirit without at the same time carrying out an active policy on two fronts: socio-economic and educational work.

As a Council of Europe document underlines:

> The interaction of the economic, social and cultural factors in this work is such that it appears futile to expect that any lag in one or the other field can be meaningfully offset by progress in only one of the three.[13]
>
> The school and the media are among the most important sources of the stereotypes and prejudices which play an important role in determining our perceptions of other people, of differences and in determining our judgments of other people and our behaviour towards them.[14]
>
> The school (a compulsory stepping-stone for every new generation, and the media (which create and strengthen images conveyed by society) are, for this reason, two irreplaceable instruments for the public recognition of other people, their identity and their cultural distinctiveness.[15]

In Europe (which today has 15 million migrants), the harmonious co-existence of the various communities cannot be contemplated unless it is first recognised that:

> The discovery of others is the discovery of a relationship, not of a barrier. (C. Levy-Strauss)[16]

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[11] Perotti (1984)

[12] Conference on intolerance in Europe (1980)

[13] Lebon, (1982)

[14] Perotti op. cit.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

It is on the basis of these convictions that the Council of Europe has carried out projects on education from pre-primary to secondary and adult education.[17]

The need to go beyond an ethnocentric approach in intergroup relations, rejection, intolerance and xenophobia became urgent in the 1970's with the worsening of the conditions of existence and co-existence brought on by the economic recession. It was precisely at that time that the Council of Europe began to focus increasingly on points of stress where cultural influences might have a highly negative influence on the future of the intercultural nature of European societies.

It was with a view to alerting governments to the urgent need for action in this field that the Council of Europe launched a study project on the training of teachers in a multicultural society.

The results of this activity, which lasted from 1977 to 1983, are embodied in a recommendation on "the training of teachers in education for intercultural understanding, notably in a context of migration" which was adopted by the Committee of Ministers, on 25 September 1984[18], and which deserves careful consideration.

In the recommendation, the Ministers considered that:

- the societies with multicultural features created in Europe by the population movements of recent decades are an irreversible and generally positive development, in that they may help to further closer links between the people of Europe and other parts of the world;

- flourishing relations in all fields, require a fuller understanding of the cultures and ways of life of other peoples, as well as, in the event, of their common cultural heritage;

- the presence in schools in Europe of millions of children from foreign cultural communities constitutes a source of enrichment and a major medium and long-term asset, provided that education policies are geared to fostering open- mindedness and an understanding of cultural differences;

- in order to fulfil this task, the training given to teachers should equip them to adopt an intercultural approach and be based on an awareness of the enrichment

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Recommendation No.R (84) 18 of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

constituted by intercultural understanding and of the value and originality of each culture;

- this intercultural approach should be adopted by all teachers in host countries and countries of origin alike, because it concerns all children;

- teachers issuing from migrant populations are particularly suited to creating with their pupils an educational process which takes account of the interaction of the features of their cultures of origin and of their host milieu.

Therefore they recommended that member States train teachers in such a way as to:

- become aware of the various forms of cultural expression present in their own national cultures, and in migrant communities;

- recognise that ethnocentric attitudes and stereotyping can damage individuals, and therefore attempt to counteract their influence;

- realise that they too should become agents of a process of cultural exchange and develop and use strategies for approaching understanding, and giving due consideration to other cultures as well as educating their pupils to give due consideration to them;

- become aware of social exchange existing between the country of origin and the host country not only in the cultural field but also in their historical dimension;

- become conscious of the economic, social, political and historical causes and effects of migration;

- become conscious too of the fact that the active participation of migrant children in two cultures and their access to intercultural understanding depend, to a great extent, on conditions of stay, work and education in the host country.

A second project on the education and cultural development of migrants (generally called Project No.7 following the chronological number it was given by the CDCC) was launched in 1981 and dealt with three main items:

- links between the school and the family;

- links between school and out-of-school culture;

- links between child education and adult education.

At the same time as these initiatives, parallel work was

going on in human rights education. It is interesting to note that, in a meeting which was held in 1981 on this subject, the participants emphasised "that human rights education should be aimed at the acquisition of habits and attitudes, and not be confined to merely transmitting knowledge".[19] What was needed was to produce in the child a capacity for action based on respect for human rights.[20]

It was also underlined that "in promoting human rights, the teacher should use the diversity of the class (difference of nationality, race, social background, religion and sex) in order to ensure acceptance of the right to be different and to prepare pupils for life in a multicultural society".[21]

In their work both on human rights education and migrants' education, the Council of Europe experts insisted and still insist on three key points which are absolutely essential to bringing intercultural education from theory into practice.

1. It is essential that the development aspect of curriculum issues are discussed at cross-national level. Intercultural education cannot occur in isolation or from an ethnocentric point of view.

2. A second point which is constantly stressed is: comparative links cross-nationally. There is an urgent need to exchange information, materials and opinions about intercultural education between teachers, teacher-trainers, people working in curriculum development and research. In this respect, the work prepared by the International Association of Intercultural Education is of great value and the Council of Europe gives its full support to it.

3. Last, but not least, there is a need to build bridges on cross-national terms between teachers and teacher-trainers as well as between theoretical and practical issues. This includes curriculum-developers in universities and institutes of education who work with subject teachers in the classroom. A good example of what can be done in this field is the work developed by the Centre for Multicultural Education, work which is well known by the European institutions for its high academic value and functional use.

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[19] Report, Council of Europe, DECS/EGT (81) 25 rev.

[20] Revedin, (1984)

[21] Cf. Revedin, op. cit.

iii.ii. Project No. 9, on adult education and community development. The Council of Europe's work since 1982 on adult education has moved towards helping the underprivileged, assisting those areas in need of development and redevelopment. The Adult Education for Development project was able to demonstrate the practical contribution at the local and regional level. In particular, it attempted to:

i. identify the most significant experiment being conducted in member states.

ii. encourage new initiatives.

iii. examine such experiments for their implications for policy making in Europe.

iv. stimulate further development through a network interaction between countries.

Initially 14 local and regional experiments were undertaken in three groups.

The first group related to participation of men and women in decisions about their daily lives. These projects included:

i. a community development project in a rural area of Braga, Portugal,

ii. a community development project in a disadvantaged district in Coria, Spain,

iii. improvement of cultural awareness in Romansch - speaking regions of the Canton of Grisons, Switzerland,

iv. co-ordinated action through adult and nursery provision in Sicily, Italy.

The second group of projects in response to unemployment and consequences of economic restructuring included:

i. the retraining of unemployed shipyard and factory workers in Landskrona, Sweden,

ii. provision of educational facilities for migrant and other workers in Charleroi, Belgium,

iii. the 20 town project in Finland to give training to entrepreneurs to create jobs,

iv. a project to make workers, trade union leaders, women more aware of their situation in Northern Hesse, Germany,

v. an economic revitalisation project in Vosges, France.

vi. enabling workers to play an active role in work and community in Silkeborg, Denmark.

The third group of projects was intended to develop the social and cultural roles of men and women:

i. projects were intended to help equal status for women and preparation for retirement in Twente and in the Eastern Netherlands with migrant populations from Turkey and Surinam,

ii. social and educational project for women in Ankara, Turkey,

iii. social life project for the National Federation of Women's Institutes in Britain,

iv. the Norwegian Action Plan for Sex Equality to motivate women to choose training and employment.[22]

The projects have been monitored and evaluations disseminated to member states. Review seminars examined the issues for Project No. 9 during the period of 1984-1986. This is a journey for the Council of Europe based on a rationale of co-operation and sharing, although the cornerstone has remained that a community maintains control over its own development.

The Project employed flexible strategies to ensure that its development plan was successful. It established a co-operative institutional network; a basic nucleus to provide inspiration; maintenance of cautious but continuous progress and a production of a model which could be applied widely.[23]

In the period after 1988, a work programme for a new adult education activity has been drawn up.

The two methods of operation selected were:

i. the European network of pilot projects that concern integrated community development and are co-ordinated at national level,

ii. topic groups on adult education for the long term unemployed and for older people.

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[22] Council of Europe, (1984)

[23] Council of Europe (1987). The comments in this report by Hugues de Jouvenel are a particularly succinct account of the conclusions of Project No. 9.

The present report is being submitted in relation to the concerns about the long term unemployed and the elderly in relation to issues of intercultural education in the broadest sense and demonstrates how the concerns of the project have developed in the light of the experiences so far gained.

EDUCATION AND THE LONG TERM UNEMPLOYED

This section of the report looks specifically at the educational issues that are raised by unemployment amongst the minority communities within Europe. It contains three major elements:

i. information about unemployment within the groups in question; this information will look at, inter alia, variation between the migrant communities and the non migrant communities and in so far as it can be ascertained, variation within the migrant communities;

ii. an examination of contributory factors to unemployment in relation to educational need for the groups under investigation;

iii. a discussion about successful practice in this area. The purpose of this section is to be indicative of possibilities rather than to be a comprehensive account of the increasingly wide range of initiatives that are being carried out throughout Europe in relation to this issue.

i. The nature of the problem.

In order to address the issues that face the migrant communities in relation to unemployment, it is important to have some idea of the nature and scale of unemployment. What is clear from an overview of the situation is that rates of unemployment amongst the migrant communities are in general higher than the national averages of the states within which they live and that the period of unemployment is likely to be longer as well. These issues deserve closer examination.

The first important issue is that examination of the unemployment figures of the migrant communities and the non migrant communities reveals the migrant communities' continued disadvantage in this crucial area of life.[24] Despite the upturn in the economies of most Western European states over the last few years, the percentage of unemployed people from many migrant communities continues to rise, albeit more slowly than in the early 1980s.

Some examples are useful here, but it has to be stressed that the states chosen are indicative and that most Western European states face issues of a similar kind. For example, in the Netherlands, unemployment continues to rise at a

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[24] The date for this section is mainly drawn from the SOPEMI reports, [OECD: 1987, 1988, 1989].

disproportionate rate amongst the Turkish and Moroccan migrant populations, and, perhaps more worryingly amongst the more settled Antillean and Surinamese communities.

The rate is also much higher [2.8% higher in 1987], than amongst the non migrant communities.

However, national rates in the Netherlands, as in many other states often fail to reveal significant local variation, particularly in relation to urban areas. For example, the rate of increase of unemployment within the migrant communities between 1986 and 1988 in the Randstad cities, where many such communities are concentrated, was extremely high, for instance up from 27% to 31% in Amsterdam and from 31% to 34% in Rotterdam. But even these alarming figures, like Chinese boxes, have more inside them. If data is examined in even closer detail, say in relation to city districts, even higher rates of unemployment are revealed.

Two other examples give some indication of the scale and complexity of the issues involved. The first is related to the fact indicated in the data from the Netherlands, that there is a great range between communities within the same society. In Belgium, for example, where unemployment has been falling for all groups in the period 1986-87, the exceptions were, as might be expected, members from the Algerian, Moroccan, Spanish and Turkish communities, with the Algerian group unemployment rate rising by as much as 57% in 1986 alone.

In Sweden, where overall unemployment fell from 2.7% in 1986 to an estimated 1.7% in 1988, the rate for the migrant communities was rising, reaching 4.4% in 1987. And in the same period, as the figures suggest, there was an increasing labour shortage, with the employers seeking permission to start recruitment abroad again, overturning the long standing migration "stop". This latter point will be returned to later as it is an important current phenomenon.

Thus, as Schierup has indicated:

> ... the disproportion between immigrant unemployment and total unemployment has been shown to harness a general and long term character[emphasis added] for both sexes and for all ages. This holds true for migration countries with different forms of migration policies, labour market policies and different measures for relieving unemployment.[25]

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[25] Schierup, (1986), p.80

Explanations for such a variation in unemployment rates are varied. Almost certainly, the causes are complex, are both nationally and group specific, and within those categories further affected by class and gender factors. However, if effective educational provision is to be provided to assist in the amelioration of this differential unemployment, some analysis of these factors is called for. This is the concern of the next part of this section of the report.

ii. Contributory Factors.

The most obvious factors that seems to be influential in regard to unemployment amongst the migrant communities are xenophobia, prejudice, discrimination and racism. Reports about racist incidents across Europe have increased over the last year or so, and this is an alarming state of affairs. Conventionally, racism and xenophobia are more likely to become overt during periods of high migration or during periods of economic recession. Looked at closely, one of those two sets of circumstances has usually been a feature of life within Europe over the last two to three decades. It helps explain why racism and xenophobia seem almost a constant feature of European life. When times are hard much of Europe is xenophobic, when times are good, and Europe needs its migrant labour, much of Europe is also xenophobic. There is a phrase in English when a coin is tossed to make a choice:

'Heads, I win, tails you lose ... '

Usually, the two sets of fallaciously justifying circumstances seldom occur at the same time but this seems to be no longer true. The contradictory myths that the migrant communities both "Take away" the jobs of other nationals and at the same time are parasitic on the state in relation to welfare and housing provision seem to be increasingly held by people and reflected in the institutional practices of many states.

A further new issue is the recent nationalistic resurgence in Europe. Since 1989, authoritarian regimes have toppled all over Europe. This reassertion of democracy is to be welcomed. However, along with such a reassertion has come a reassertion of national/nationalistic feeling. This has involved not so much the migrant communities as the territorial based nationalities who are minorities within a state but who are the majority within a neighbouring state.

Being the majority in a neighbouring state is important. Territorial national minorities such as the Frisians in the Netherlands, and the Welsh in Britain do not have the other "home country" in the same way as certain groups in other states do, particularly in the Balkans. However, disputes about, for example, 'ethnic' Turks and Hungarians in Romania are not readily resolved. The mosaic of

nationalities across Europe and the state boundaries that cut across them will not simply go away or be resolved by the device of having states and national groupings coincident.[26]

Yet such movements towards some form of cultural and political recognition do not merely cause political problems in themselves and for the groups concerned. Such aspirations usually, and certainly in the early stages of their expression, are received as threatening by the state concerned. A narrow nationalistic and exclusive nationalism may well be one national response to such a state of affairs. However, as such feelings rise, the migrant communities are very likely to be rapidly drawn in, being perceived as a similar threat to the unity of the state.

However, if the response to such manifestations of peoplehood are so narrowly nationalistic in tone, it is not surprising that often the supportive stance of the countries of origin of the migrant communities is seen as equally interfering. Relations between the receiving countries and the countries of origin over the welfare of the migrant communities have never been easy as the educational debates over mother tongue maintenance often reveal.[27]

Such assistance often confuses an already confused situation. Are the countries of origin "interfering" or supporting their own so called kith and kin? And if they do the latter, or are seen as doing so, are they not confirming the 'foreign' nature of the migrant community in question, even if the people involved are now nationals of the receiving country? All these factors have led, in many Western European countries, to the following complex fallacious perceptions:

a) the migrant communities 'take' the job away from the non-migrant communities;

b) the migrant communities are a drain on the welfare provision of the state because so many of their members are unemployed;

c) the migrant communities, like the territorially based national minorities, have allegiances elsewhere, which may be antagonistic to the interests of the state in which they reside and of which they are increasingly

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[26] For a discussion of this problem, c.f. Gellnera, (1973).

[27] c.f. The discussion of this issue in the recent International Association for Intercultural Education's 1990 Conference Report on Multilingual Education, Jones, (1990).

becoming citizens.

As an example of this last point, the Rushdie affair in the United Kingdom has encouraged, falsely, the view that the Muslim population of the United Kingdom (and indeed, the Muslim population in Europe generally), is a somewhat alien and hostile element in European society.

These deep-rooted atavistic fears of "the other", coupled with legitimate worries about the future trends in the economy and employment, have led to the rapid rise in xenophobia and racism across Europe, mentioned earlier, which, although condemned by most politicians seem deeply rooted in the majority populations and, usually implicitly, in legislation over residence, employment and citizenship in many European countries. The first worry, which has been known about for some time, is that the non migrant members of the migrant communities are still perceived and to be found located at the bottom end of the job market. Thus, the migrant labour force, which has traditionally been at the bottom end of the job market, is seeing its non-migrant children and grandchildren being positioned in the same place in the labour market as theirs. Their rejection of this positioning is understandable although not widely perceived as such.

However, such a positioning, although basically the result of discrimination and prejudice, has within it other significant factors. For the purpose of this report, they are treated as separate items, although of course they interweave in a complex, subtle and confusing way which we do not yet fully understand.

The first of these contributory factors is the radical industrial and economic restructuring that is currently taking place in Europe. Put simply, the economic and industrial requirements that led to the post war migration into Europe no longer apply. The driving force behind these changes is the new information technology, allowing for attenuation production on a global rather than a national or even continental scale.

The other heavy industries that were the basis of much of Europe's post war prosperity have increasingly been relocated to the newly industrialising countries (NICs) or the LDCs. Furthermore, the substitution of machines for labour has continued unabated so that even with industries that have not declined or re-located, such as building work, the need for labour, irrespective of cycles in the building trade itself, has steadily declined.

Once out of employment in this rapidly changing climate, re-entry is difficult for the migrant communities for reasons already given in addition to those to be discussed later.

However, although unemployment amongst the migrant communities is on the increase, as is its long term component, there are also signs that the employment patterns themselves are changing. This has clear implications both for those about to enter the workforce as well as those currently outside - ie unemployed people.

The first and most obvious change is an increasing move by the migrant communities into the tertiary sector of employment. As more and more women enter the job market, for example, particularly in the more highly paid occupations, the demand for domestic female labour has increased. The pay is generally very poor, the hours long and job security low, hence it has recruited heavily from certain of the minority communities. A similar growth area is in the office and factory support areas such as cleaning and security services. Much of this work is sub-contracted out, and this has encouraged the growth of small firms who compete in a fierce market, in which success depends greatly on the provision of low wages for the workers involved.

Although detailed figures on these changes are hard to find, there does seem to be some evidence that there is a modest shift from male to female labour in the migrant communities. Such shifts, however modest, and indeed in any community, do raise complex issues for the internal workings of the community's social structures.

A final factor that seems to be at work in relation to the economic opportunities that are available to the migrant communities is their slow but steady move into the self-employed category, often as owner/workers in small scale enterprises like shops, garages and small manufacturing or building firms.

Such moves vary enormously from community to community, some moving steadily into this area of activity, others, for reasons that are still not fully understood, moving much more slowly. Again, there are clear educational consequences that arise from this change, although lack of clarity as to motivation, except at the individual level, makes effective intervention in this area difficult.

A second factor, that closely relates to, and partly explains some issues raised by the previous one, is that the economic restructuring, coupled with cyclical booms and slumps in the economy generally is particularly hard on the poorly qualified, where many members of minority communities find themselves. One consequence of this, as a recent SOPEMI report put it, is that:

> the trend of the real number of unemployed foreigners and the lengthening of their average period of unemployment, effectively confirm the worsening position of foreigners in the labour

market.[28]

This lack of skills, or under-qualification, is not as simple an issue as it appears on the surface. At one level, it is clearly there. The schooling systems of most European countries have not been very successful in ensuring that those members of migrant communities whom they educate have fared well. Moreover, there are some groups currently failing in school who have long been resident in Europe, such as those of North African origin in France and the Netherlands and those of Caribbean origin in the United Kingdom.

The explanations for such a widespread feature are many, and the main features of that particular debate are too well known to be repeated.[29] Again, however, it must be noted that not all migrant community children fail in school, that the relationship between failure, social class and ethnicity is not as clear as was once imagined, and that issues relating to bilingual students in predominantly monolingual classrooms have yet to be satisfactorily resolved.

Although there is a general and recognised lack of educational qualification among the unemployed within the migrant communities, that is only part of the issue. For among many unemployed (and indeed employed) members of migrant communities, there are people who are both well qualified for available employment as well as significant numbers of "over" qualified people. In other words, discrimination (and other factors) has played a not inconsiderable part in the unemployment.

A final example of the problems raised by looking at levels of qualification in relation to unemployment among members of migrant communities is that of language. A lack of language skills appropriate to the job in question may be as a result of a migrant's previous learning experiences. However, for many members of European migrant communities this is not the case, as they are not immigrants and should have had specialist language support work (if it was needed) throughout their schooling in the receiving country. Again, there is now a considerable body of evidence that this has not been adequately dealt with by the formal educational system, usually because of lack of resolve in ensuring the adequate provision of resources. At this level, it is not so much a fault in the schooling systems as a fault of those who control their resourcing.

However, even if the resources were to be found and the pedagogical issues relating to bilingualism resolved, neither of which is an easy task, the issue is not for schools or colleges alone. Employers have a role in this

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[28] OECD, (1989), op. cit. p.16.

[29] For example, see the discussion of this subject in Banks and Lynch (1986), especially the chapter by Lynch.

area which in general they have been reluctant to take on.

So called "on the job training" has always had a language element but never a strong one. During periods of high unemployment and/or industrial and economic restructuring, it becomes an even lower priority than normal. Yet many large industrial concerns, worried about their labour needs over the next few decades as the population ages, have gone to some trouble to provide facilities to expand and/or maintain their labour force. An obvious example of this are the facilities offered to young working mothers, either in the form of providing pre-school child care or providing the finance so that the parents (usually mothers) can purchase the care in the private sector. Yet such a concern for labour does not seem to extend to the provision of language support. Clearly the marginal costs to employers in relation to qualification or indeed to requalification subsequent upon restructuring, are seen as too high to be worth undertaking in any systematic manner.

A further factor relates to this issue and in some respects follows on from it. As the SOPEMI reports indicate, there has been a recent modest rise in migration with the more prosperous economies of North Western Europe. This is at a time when unemployment amongst the settled and resident migrant communities is both higher than the national unemployment average and is still, in most cases, increasing.

Although there is likely to be no simple explanation for this phenomenon, it is likely that some form of alternative labour force is being recruited. In other words, the advantages for employers of employing migrants labour are increasingly unlikely to be sustained through the employment of their children, born and brought up in that society and sharing many of the economic aspirations of their non-migrant community peers. The dangerous, unpleasant and anti-social working time jobs remain but few in the labour force now wish to take on these jobs. The solution, as in the 50's and 60's is to recruit migrants to do this work.

It is a worrying situation. If the needs of society to recruit to such jobs is permanently to be resolved through the importation of cheap labour while at the same time little is being done to ensure the adequate representation across the work force of the existing migrant communities, a social time bomb of grave portent is being created. The view held by an increasing number of the young long term unemployed from the migrant communities will be endorsed that the societies within which they live and have an entitlement to be an integral part in many significant ways denies that entitlement and wishes them to remain as a permanent so called 'migrants' or 'foreign' reserve pool of labour.

Sadly, this perspective is not one only held by certain employers only. In the early 1970's, Castles and Cosack

(1973) noted the ambivalent position that was often taken by organised labour in relation to this issue, and the ambivalence remains, although most trade unions, at the national level at least, expound equal opportunities policies of which this issue is a part.

However, if the causes of the long term unemployment are complex, some of the educational consequences are the reverse. Three of them deserve some mention here, namely:

i. the effects on the formal education of the young from the migrant communities affected;

ii. the effect on the cultural representation of the work ethic for the migrant communities affected;

iii. the effect on race and intergroup relations generally within the society due to this disproportional unemployment.

As regards the first of these consequences, the rules of the game seem to be saying to the affected young members of the migrant communities that, whether you work hard or not in school, the employment outcome is similar, namely no job at all or work in undesirable jobs that your migrant predecessors had no choice but to accept.

Of course, such a dire pronouncement is in danger of being a simplistic one. Not all children and young people perceive the issue in such terms. Also, a slow but steadily increasing number of young people from such migrant communities use education successfully and become occupationally contented and prosperous. Nor are the school systems observing the failure with equanimity, although it is interesting to see that much of the impetus for change and the generation of new ideas comes from international rather than national bodies.[30]

Thus, while accepting that the educational picture is not entirely bleak, it must also be admitted that there is considerable room for reform and renewal. If education is seen as being both successful and of benefit, the long term impact on the lives and communities concerned will be inestimable, as the educational history of certain migrant groups who were mainly asylum seekers indicates. Two classic examples of this would be the Jewish communities in various states of Europe and more recently, the East African Asians in the United Kingdom.

However, although there is much that the schools can and ought to do in this respect, it cannot hide the fact that persistent unemployment amongst their older brothers and

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[30] It is interesting in this connection to note that the debate about intercultural education was initiated under the auspices of the Council of Europe and that much of the work in bilingual education in relation to the migrant communities has been undertaken under the auspices of the E.C.

sisters, as well as their parents, can have a dismal impact on a young person's perceptions of the value of school based learning.

This concern links in with the second consequence of the impact of long term unemployment on migrant communities, namely, the specific cultural representation of the work ethic of the migrant communities that are affected.

If conventional work is denied to a community or significant groups within it, those groups can either accept that they have not succeeded within that work ethic or can redefine it. In relation to the first response, the work ethic may be retained and forces external to the community, such as prejudice, racism and xenophobia blamed for its non-realisation. Or, more damagingly, groups, or individuals within groups, may see themselves as being inadequate in meeting the demands of the work ethic, a sort of "to be unemployed is to be sinful" manifestation of the Puritan work ethic. For victims of structural unemployment to blame themselves and/or their group for failing within such a work ethic is generally both unproductive, unfair and potentially damaging to the self-esteem of the person concerned.

A further response is to redefine the work ethic, usually through either alternative work practices and/or the rationalisation of economic practices previously condemned within the culture.

Alternative work practices, to be investigated in more detail in the next part of this section, are an exciting and unusual development. Examples of these are the increasing tendency to move in and out of work as an acceptable pattern against the traditional Western urban pattern of working life from leaving school to retirement. This development is more than the casual labour so often found in lower socio-economic occupations such as the building trade, because the movement in and out of waged work is to a large extent controlled by the worker rather than the employer. Another example is the increasing tendency to work in the informal sector of the economy, sometimes called small scale enterprising. If successful, such enterprises may enter the formal economy, particularly as regards taxes, but more often they exist on the fringe of the formal economy, providing an adequate living without the impositions of what is often seen as a hostile and uncaring society.

The other aspect of redefinition is the criminalisation of certain sections of the long term unemployed. Obviously, this is a concern for all groups within a society and it is important to remember that most migrant communities have lower involvement in crime than most non-migrant communities, although xenophobic and racist elements often claim the contrary. What is a worry, however, within that broader context of a low rate of deviant behaviour, and it is a worry more to the migrant communities than to others,

is that certain elements of criminality are seen as justified responses to the hostility, xenophobia, discrimination and racism in a society which they perceive has denied them legitimate access to employment.

The worry for society, and education in particular, is that this view does have a surface credibility and an obvious materialistic attraction. The important points to reiterate, however, are that it is a small scale problem compared to criminality in society at large, but that its effects on small beleaguered communities are powerful. Finally, it should be stressed that to understand the basis for such activities is not to condone them.

The third and final consequence is, in a sense, a reiteration of many of the points that opened this section. Indeed, the consequences for good race and intergroup relations of persistent unemployment within the minority communities are potentially disastrous.

To the xenophobic and prejudiced in the non-migrant communities, persistent unemployment within the migrant communities is seen as justified. It is justified on two counts. The first is that, if there is not enough work, the migrant communities should somehow cease to exist thus easing the problem. The second is that, of the many negative stereotypes that abound about migrant communities within Europe, one of the most outrageous and unfair is that they are lazy and parasitic on the very welfare system that they help to sustain.

Thus, the long term unemployed from the migrant communities, many of whom are victims of structural factors within the economies of the states in which they live, such structural factors being supported by xenophobic discrimination, individual and institutional racism, are themselves blamed by others for the position in which they find themselves. It seems that many European societies are reluctant to learn crucial lessons from Europe's recent past.

iii. Unemployment and effective educational policy

The last part of this section of the report ended on a pessimistic note. However, it would be wrong and also incorrect to stop there. As unemployment among the migrant communities has increased, so have the efforts of both government and the communities themselves to deal with its worst manifestations, especially among the younger adults. Therefore, what will be attempted here is to examine some of the key aspects of educational policy that are likely to have an impact on the success and/or failure of any educational intervention.

Developing the work of Schierup[31], it is useful to examine the potential for effective educational interventions under three alternatives that face migrant communities in this area, namely:

i. using the existing frameworks to optimise access to the conventional mainstream labour market;

ii. developing new educational frameworks to relate to developing alternative economies and their labour markets;

iii. 'Retreat to the Hinterland[32]'.

The first option is the one most commonly adopted by the formal education system. It attempts, by improving access to training courses, as well offering relevant curriculum and pedagogy, to ensure that the students, in this case, the long term unemployed from the migrant communities, gain skills and attitudes that enable them to more effectively enter the conventional workforce. Such educational initiatives are often skill based, attempting to give students skills which are valued in the local labour market. Obvious examples of this are course skills and a range of activities associated with office work, most notably word processor skills.

Such educational interventions, if effectively taught, have a high success rate if four conditions are met, viz:

i. The students themselves are motivated to attend rather than being forced to - usually by threats being made relating to withdrawal of welfare benefits of one sort or another.

ii. The skills gap and the labour need have been effectively identified. Teaching building skills when there is a recession in the building trade is rarely effective. Other, more complex mismatches are more difficult to cope with, for example the teaching of W.P. skills to men when few offices wish to employ men in such roles. Even more troublesome for the migrant community unemployed is the provision of skills which racism and prejudice make it most difficult to practise, e.g. the public preparation and sale of food in a so called 'non-ethnic' environment such as a bakery. Baking bread is acceptable, selling it to customers often is not.

iii. The general rates of unemployment are low. When rates of unemployment are high, training or other forms of educational intervention are less likely

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[31] Schierup (1986)

[32] Ibid p.82.

to lead to real employment. At such times, educational interventions may be seen by some as devices for lowering unemployment statistics rather than helping unemployed people find jobs.

iv. The status of the training course is perceived of as being high. As unemployment rises, the number of educational courses has risen as well. These vary in their status, to the student and to the outside world. If the status is low, dropout rates are high, completion rates are low and migrant group membership is often disproportionately high. Sadly, in some contexts, status of interventions is to some extent determined by membership. If large numbers of migrant community students are involved, the perceived status is likely to fall.

In addition to these conditions being met, successful intervention in terms of existing educational methods has also to address a series of other questions, none of which have simple yes/no answers.

The first is whether courses should be restricted to migrant community unemployed people or not. If the courses are so restricted, there is a risk of ghettoisation and a perception of second class provision. If initiatives have a mixed clientele, will the special needs of the migrant community participants be met? Examples of such special needs could be language support and specific work on coping strategies to deal effectively with racism when looking for work.

The second relates to the first in that it cuts across those concerns. It relates to the gender mix of courses. Should there be separate courses for women in order to meet their special needs? The domination of learning experiences by men is a well researched phenomenon and deserves careful consideration. Also, there is often a view within Moslem communities regarding educational provision for women which deserves separate provision.

The third relates to the mix within educational intervention between what one may crudely call general education and vocational training. Often, there is a desire to stress the former by the educational professionals, the latter by many politicians and employers. The views of the recipients are all too seldom canvassed.

The fourth relates to the fact that successful initiatives in this area are often costly, for example because of the need for extra language support. Other types of training course, like the 'mentor' schemes, which link young people with successful members of the migrant communities are limited by the fact that there are always too few mentors for the demand.

However, these caveats must not disguise that effective work has been and can be done in this area. Perhaps the major issue is ensuring that this particular area gets special priority, obviously a difficult political decision. It is perhaps because of this that other options need to be considered, as in Schierup's analysis. This second option, devising new educational frameworks to relate to developing alternative economies and their labour markets has some exciting possibilities.

If existing economies and labour markets have unequal access, it makes sense that alternatives are developed alongside the attempts to equalise access. Particularly in urban areas, there are growing signs across Europe that such alternatives are slowly coming into being. The problem for the education providers in relation to the long term unemployed from the migrant communities who are developing such alternative economies and labour markets is that the formal agencies know little about this area and almost certainly cannot provide relevant educational responses to it.

What this probably calls for then is the examination of some of the following possibilities.

The first is the funding of vocational programmes within the informal sector. This is a difficult task. Correct identification, proper financial management and some form of qualitative evaluation are all needed but are difficult to arrange. Rather like the supplementary school/class movements in many migrant communities, whose raison d'être is dissatisfaction with the formal education system, the informal sector is unlikely to wish to conform to the rules set down by the education system. Yet if public money is involved, some form of accountability is essential. It is a problem but one that creative management can and should overcome, for it is in this area that some potentially valuable work is possible.

The final option is the return to the country of origin, and, in many ways, it is not so much an option as a recognition that integration has failed. In most cases, it takes the form of the myth of return, either to the country of origin, or in some cases, such as the Rastafarians, to a quasi mythical country of origin. If the European states are seen as some form of Babylonic exile, unemployment is not unexpected, exploitation and discrimination are.

If unemployed members of migrant communities have this as their response to unemployment, the role of the education system is a difficult one. To identify sensitively and respond to educational needs is however still possible but more than ever should be client led in terms of offerings. Again, this probably means more use of out-reach type workers, of teachers recruited from within the communities concerned, and flexible and imaginative financial arrangements.

It is a new area for many in adult education. Again, it can only be possible if some degree of political will to allocate scarce resources to this area is exercised.

In conclusion, the position for education as regards the long term unemployed from the migrant communities is a bleak one unless difficult political decisions to allocate sufficient resources to this area are made. This is <u>not</u> positive discrimination; it is the provision by society of what has often been previously denied to these groups.

If the resources are allocated, then a further series of difficult decisions needs to be made, some of which have been outlined in this section of the report. Chief amongst them are new ways of involvement in the initiation of educational work and a willingness to experiment with new ways of providing educational facilities and resources to groups of people who often feel excluded by society in general and education in particular.

Around Europe, there are small scale projects that show that the potential for work is there. The next stage is for greater commitment on the part of governments to this area of work.

EDUCATION AND THE OLDER MIGRANTS

i. The elderly in Europe.

The process of ageing and being aged conjures up ideas, images and stereotypes which have a profound impact on the way in which, at an individual and collective level, this process is perceived and colours the potential and limitations of this period of human life.

Issues surrounding senescence are obviously complex, the more so as they are not simply grounded in our personal experiences. They are also a result of socio-economic relationships, themselves culturally determined by the ways in which societies have been historically structured. Hence, the experience of growing old in a society where only youth is privileged is different from a society where old age is revered and privileged. In a society where old age ceases to have cultural value, major dislocation is created. Thus, many who have come to Europe from societies where ageing carries with it a status and a role in the family and the community, have found to their shock that age in their new environment now carries little or no status. They have also seen, within one generation, the nature of their families change dramatically, their own status loss being located within a more general sense of confusion and loss about the role of the family generally. One consequence has been that for many older people from migrant communities, their sense of family, and their place and status within it, no longer has a reassuring sense of solidarity, comfort and reality for them. The old in rural European communities have similarly seen an erosion of their status as an ageing population, as the nature of rural societies and economies have transformed, not least because of the continuing migration of the young to the urban areas within their own and other states.

The process of ageing is also affected by the way in which the elderly might themselves contribute towards other people's perceptions of them. While they may become suspicious from distrust based on their experience, they may become calculating. As Aristotle wrote in his Treatise on Rhetoric:

> And they live more by calculation than by moral feeling; for calculation is expediency but moral feeling is of virtue.[33]

The question is whether this expediency and lack of virtue feeds into an intergenerational lack of trust and discord which has implications for society and planners of social policy.

However, such negative perceptions of old age may need to be balanced by notions about the moral and spiritual value

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[33] Aristotle (1983), Book 2, Chapter 13.

of old age that are found in many religions. Thus, a cultural view of senescence may not only contribute to the elderly being seen as "the other" onto whom fears and hopes are projected. It may also contribute to a view of the elderly from certain migrant communities as being "the others" who are beyond the pale. As demographic changes lead to an increase in the numbers of the elderly, this view of the "otherness" of certain older people within Europe requires a qualitative shift in our thinking, to ensure that all the elderly are seen as an integrated part of society. The physical, social, cultural and economic issues and problems of the old cannot simply be viewed on an individualistic basis but have to be seen in holistic terms as being part of society, and therefore as presenting, like any other part of society, social possibilities as well as social issues and problems. The profound implications of this are that the elderly, perhaps particularly the elderly from the migrant communities, ought not to be left to rely on themselves, on kith and kin or voluntary agencies but should be seen as central concerns of European national governments and inter-governmental organisations. The resonances of ageism, particularly in economically and racially stratified European societies raises acute problems for those who may already also be socially and sexually discriminated against.

As was suggested above, many of the elderly who have settled in Europe in the post World War II period have had to make significant changes during their settlement in Europe. As they have become more settled, their younger generations have adapted, albeit to varying degrees, to the social, cultural and economic patterns of life in European conurbations. These changes have exacerbated the stress which is often found between generations.

These and other issues indicate that the problems at the underlying levels for the elderly of the newly settled communities, as well as for the elderly generally, may require understanding which is not only related to eliminating discrimination and changing social policy, as people like Simone de Beauvoir have pointed out[34]. There are complex social processes involved in the construction of ageing[35] and in the context of societal diversities within Europe which require further and updated research and action. We now turn to some of the work done in this area.

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[34] de Beauvoir, (1977).

[35] Elmore, (1988), pp. 17-30.

ii. Educational gerontology: Theory and Reality.

There has been tremendous enthusiasm concerning issues of educational gerontology in the United States, yet there has been little impact of this on federal government policy. In the European context, there has been very little influential scholarly work done on the range of educational issues as they pertain to the elderly[36]. However, despite such caveats, one of the most important developments has been the definition of educational gerontology undertaken by Peterson, which is more related to British developments. However, it may be useful to widen its usage to European societies generally, to ascertain whether its implications for educational gerontology can be further refined in this broader context. His definition of educational gerontology can be summarised as the creation of effective models and subsequent provision for older adults, the research into such issues and the support, at all levels, of professionals and others who do educational work with older adults[37].

Such a framework also resonates with the earlier recommendations made by Brian Groombridge in 1960[38] for more daytime provision, the promotion of education for retirement and the need for professionals like social services officers to emphasise creative and satisfying needs in relation to older people. His continuing concerns about the role of broadcasting are also highlighted, and yet since he wrote in 1960, there does not seem to have been very much progress made.

Moreover, such an integrated social policy provision for the elderly, which related to a person's whole life, would have an added bonus in that it is likely that such activity would help to ensure that the elderly themselves would enjoy better mental and physical health. Such policies have the potential to lower the high social cost of old age as well as enhancing the quality of their lives. This reduction of social cost is of importance, not only because of the current widespread reduction of resources in relation to social policy issues, but also because of the increased pressure on such systems, as the number of elderly increases in most European countries. More consideration therefore, ought to be given to the interrelationship of education, leisure and health for the elderly. Such action is desirable as the work in all three areas interweaves; thus work in a concerted manner is likely to be more effective than working in a compartmentalised way. Such measures can ensure an autonomous elderly population which is not a burden on the State because they are physically, mentally and socially

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[36] See for example, Peterson, (1980), pp. 65-67, and Glendenning, (1985).

[37] Glendenning, (1983).

[38] Groombridge, (1960)

independent.

An indication of the issues of such provision for older people, including discussions of greater financial resources and support for self-help groups received a stimulus through the monograph by Bornat et al. published in 1985[39].

iii. Response from Field Survey

The realisation of any concerted effort and action for universal provision is not in the offing. This is particularly the case if the issues are seen in the broader context outlined in the introduction to this study[40]. In carrying out the current study, visits to housebound elderly people from marginalised migrant community groups in London demonstrated poignantly the loneliness and purposelessness felt by a lot of them. Many looked blank and some even said that they had nothing but death to look forward to. These views help support the view that a critical issue in respect of effective educational provision is dealing with the diminution of roles and functions of these elderly people and the sense of alienation that such feelings may engender.

In addition, since a number of these respondents had long ago come from rural farming backgrounds, they either had distant and perhaps inappropriate models of old age from that past life, or had sparse and equally inappropriate models of being old in a migrant community in a seemingly relentless and still alien urban environment. Whether there are useful lessons to be learnt from the elderly in rural European farming communities, where similar structures for dealing with old age may still exist, as remembered by the elderly in the migrant communities, particularly those communities with origins in rural areas of LDCs, is clearly an issue worthy of further study.

The marginalised elderly respondents in London conveyed a strong image of life which held no joy, companionship and for many with no facilities or inclination for collective worship, not even spiritual solace. Many saw their days as devoid of any meaningful activity or contact. They felt remorse for being lonely and alone, as well as fatalistic about the future. It is difficult to convey these complexes and the morass of guilt and shame many felt at being alone, perhaps abandoned by families. The loss of contact with families and grandchildren to give their lives an anchor and meaning was particularly noticeable.

In other visits, among the elderly of the South Asian community in London, the question of shame and guilt was particularly an issue because they felt that they could not, as one said, "show their face to anyone" from their

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[39] See Bornat et al., (1985).

[40] C.f. above, pp. 5-12.

communities. The respondents could be seen in two categories. The first category of the elderly was made up of those who had spent their working lives here and were somewhat more attuned to living and functioning and were thus somewhat better able to cope. The second group was made up of elderly who had come as dependents of their children. In their case, the issue of the city and the country becoming even stranger as they grew old was very evident. Hence, those who were seen as "the other" by the dominant community, in fact, began to feel that they did not belong, and had become estranged from the wider society within which they lived.

The loss of status, role and respect which both groups felt they deserved, but which they felt they were denied, added to a lack of well being. Apart from mental stress as well as illness, they were seldom able to communicate to medical and para-medical personnel what, in fact, were their problems. In the case of those who did not speak English and where an interpretation and translation service was patchy or non-existent, this added to their problems. Moreover, there was evidence, from some of those who could clearly communicate about their symptoms and ailments, that they were treated callously and, in fact, they felt they were ignored as patients who required attention.

When the respondents were further questioned about educational provision, their responses demonstrated that these were conditioned by their other preoccupations about life. The issues raised earlier of a holistic and universal view of the needs of the elderly came to the fore at this point. It requires the inclusive provision described earlier, where their educational needs are part of a larger parcel of social policy needs, in turn making the educational provision more meaningful and rooted.

iv. Education and social policy

An education worker can only be a "barker for custom" as Eric Midwinter states, if (s)he is not only culturally attuned but also if (s)he is able to establish credentials in the context of wider concerns and needs of the elderly within that broader concept of provision. The functions which Midwinter defines in this larger context, which is inclusive of the three roles of a professional educational worker, are as a "barker, broker and booster".[41]

The tasks of being a "barker" or recruiter, of being a "broker" or education enabler, and of being a "booster" or morale and confidence builder are clearly difficult ones, best realised in an institutional setting that has a more holistic and universalistic framework than is normal. If such a context of a holistic and universal social provision is taken as given, then these are issues for tutors and educators of the elderly. It is, of course, a pre-condition that tutors have to be culturally attuned and have the

[41] Midwinter, (1982).

appropriate attitudes. However, the attitudes of tutors in themselves are not sufficient because such attitudes and their cultural empathy only assist in the process of education. There is more importantly an extremely broad question of the knowledge and skills of tutors who are to engage with work for the elderly in a culturally diverse Europe. This raises fundamentally important questions concerning the training of tutors with appropriate skills and knowledge, as well as the maintenance of these attributes through their continuing education. This also presumes a sympathetic attitude on the part of the provider institutions, at the level of policy and delivery systems. The underlying issue, however, is that of using the positive attitudes of tutors to empower them to work within these difficult contexts.

Of the number of respondents interviewed from the marginalised communities, there was a large number who themselves accepted the myths of their own reduced capacity to learn, particularly because of their age. It is at this level, that the stark realities of the brutal prospects of this elderly community become clear. Not only did they bring a legacy of discrimination as their mental map, but realities of this discrimination in situations of urban poverty, and the elderly community's own underestimation of their learning capacities, lead to self-fulfilling prophesies. If future generations of the elderly within the migrant communities are not to meet with a drastically dismal end to their lives in Europe, not only is a total reappraisal of the social delivery required but also a major injection of resources. Those professionals involved who were not committed to this area of work only compound the issues for the educational tutors. There is also a greater need to ensure that the elderly are brought into a more meaningful relationship with kith and kin. This relationship with families and friends, would help, not only in enabling the elderly themselves but also their tutors, to cope with a legacy of a lifetime of intractable problems.

The legacy includes not only a diminution of their migrant cultural origins, but the added notion of feeling strange and estranged in their country of settlement, accompanied by notions of inferiority, weakness, narrowness, inadequacy because of being "old", "elderly", "aged" and "old aged". These seem like an extremely powerful set of weapons operating against the teaching and learning process of the elderly.

These are not necessarily intractable problems because there is an important educational task of ensuring how the images of such elderly people are currently constructed, and how not only such images can be deconstructed but images which are more realistic become operationalised. The de-mythologising of the images of the elderly would make the task of service delivery, which is both appropriate and relevant, more possible.

While the field of social gerontology might be underdeveloped, the area of ethno-gerontology is even less examined. It is therefore critical at this stage before ethno-gerontology gets more defined that current issues of definition are examined. Are the needs to be defined on the basis of "ethnicity", national origins, religious or social class needs of these groups? A holistic approach which is not only based on the "needs side" of this phenomenon but also on the ways in which communities wish to plan appropriate provision is important. Hence, if ethno-gerontology as a field is to make any genuine contribution, it ought to take on fundamental concerns of the misuse of definitional frameworks which have resulted in inappropriate provision being made. For instance, are factors of racism and the denial of access the basis on which we need to analyse the issues? If this is the case, the ethnicity of the group in question may not be the operative consideration. Hence, as the Forum on the Rights of the Elderly People to Education states:

> Worse educated as children and young persons than any of their successors in our population, they should now have access, as of right, to all the intellectual, cultural and aesthetic facilities and practical skills which in their own judgment they need and desire[42].

The need to make the families, within the homes of the elderly or the residential institutions, aware of the needs and concerns of the old people concerned is also required. The question, as far as the migrant populations are concerned, is whether the residential homes themselves are suitable for them. The advantages of service provision in a holistic manner in homes as well as in residential institutions would be to foster self-reliance and independence among the elderly by improving their mental and physical health. Hence, seen as a preventative measure, it would ensure that the subsequent demand on public and private resources for curative and cumulative needs would be obviated.

v. Responses of the Young Elderly

The elderly from these migrant communities, as well as other working class elderly who have not had adequate access to education would, under this system, be given assistance in coping with practical, social as well as psychological problems in a changing world. This would, therefore, enhance and encourage the elderly to make an actual contribution to society, as well as strengthen the potential of their contribution. Among a group of the elderly spoken with, a number were extremely active in several local institutions, including health services,

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[42] Forum on the Rights of Elderly People to Education, 1983.

community organisations and school governing bodies. Their confidence in having acquired knowledge and skills in this society as well as their knowledge of other languages and experiences in other parts of the world was seen as a positive strength and an asset.

An even more useful insight was how they had seen their working lives as really a sacrifice to support their families. However, now that their families had grown up and left home, these elderly, unlike those who were isolated, were extremely interested in developing their self-awareness and knowledge, thus fulfilling dreams and aspirations which they had not been able to do earlier. They also brought complex and interesting cultural insights into this process.

Since both ageing and learning and education are lifelong processes, it is extremely important that some of the aspirations are seen by the educators of the elderly as requiring continual support through development of suitable courses and educational activities. Many old people, for instance, received very little pre-retirement education which employers, trade unions, pre-retirement associations, as well as more normal educational institutes could all provide.

This pre-retirement education should be done in accordance with the International Labour Office Convention of 5 July 1974, ratified by most European Governments, which recognised the legitimate claim on paid educational leave. Similarly, day release provision to enable the young elderly employees to participate in these programmes is clearly needed.

vi. Issue of Provision, Support and Monitoring

Many elderly from the migrant communities are intimidated by educational institutions and feel that because of their age they would be excluded, or because of their specific cultural needs and demands, the provision would not be adequate. Hence, institutions need to institute positive measures to encourage access by older people to attend educational institutions, including concessionary fees. They should also ensure that their programmes are valid for a culturally diverse ageing population. The needs of those who have been unemployed for a long time and have grown old are acute.

The role of distance learning, certainly for those who in this instance have become housebound, and which meets the diverse learning needs, requires further exploration, attention and development. A forum of the elderly to express their own needs and to be involved in developing their own educational projects seems crucial not just for distance learning programmes but for all learning of the elderly. There is a particular need to validate the knowledge, experience and expertise as well as their personal, familial and communal histories not only for

their own education but for other generations as well. 'Oral history' programmes therefore have a critical role to play.

As the adult and continuing education system shrinks in the United Kingdom because of cuts in educational expenditure, the needs of the elderly make it even more of a 'cinderella service'. Hence for instance, if numbers for viable classes are being counted, then those who are paying reduced or no fees should not be counted as half persons. Such provision should also be offered in premises suitable for the elderly, particularly as some of the provision in school buildings with long corridors or stairs are neither welcoming nor suitable. Transport can also be a major asset or a hurdle and needs careful consideration. A coordinated provision for the elderly which is sometimes able to cater for special groups, like women or men in separate groups, should also be seen as part of legitimate demand.

A number of delivery agencies, particularly local education authorities, have equal opportunity policies. Yet, the implementation of these policies is minimal, particularly at the level of adult education. The courses for instance, in the Borough of Haringey in London are still catering for 'white' populations, while of the Borough of Haringey's total population of 200,247, half come from other than 'English' backgrounds. The mismatch between need and provision in this authority on linguistic and cultural grounds is perhaps not a special case.

The Authority had very few links with organisations representing the needs of non-English speaking communities. The "out-reach" provision is sporadic and limited to areas of English as a second language, and adult literacy. The needs of the elderly community were, however, far more broad than basic education. The outreach work in this sense needs to be pro-active and not re-active to ensure that the educational needs and demands are met. All the pitfalls of a laissez-faire provision and uncoordinated effort which do not relate to health, leisure and social services limited the impact of this local authority's efforts.

The recommendations of a local investigation made to the Haringey Council, included suggestions for outreach staff, inter agency, meeting of transport needs, need for expansion of provision, as well as the need of a Consultative Forum[43].

Within the provision for the elderly, the needs of women from the migrant communities require particular attention. This is because of unequal access during their earlier education leaving a legacy for later life. The needs of the widows from these communities, whose levels of educational attainment have been extremely low in the past,

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[43] Haringey Community Relations Council. (1986).

require greater resources, skilled tutors and in many cases better educated women tutors who are more sensitive to their needs. Needs for tailored courses for women, particularly where social custom and religion forbid contact with men, may require special consideration. Counselling is needed to ensure that confidence, often lost during working lives or during work as housewives is re-established. In most cases, there may be a need to re-establish confidence, particularly for non-traditional provision. The denial of equal opportunities to this group is a complex issue because of the range and levels of barriers to access throughout life, which come to roost in old age. In the case of women, the need for education to cope with life with little social support has become more essential as social structures of families have changed. There is a particular need to inform women of what is available, to inspire them and stimulate their mental faculties to ensure they do not slip into senile dependency and to ensure that this inspiration is met with an involvement which is supported.

However, there are problems which Diane Norton describes as the age 'ghetto'[44], where needs of a peer group are met separately. Yet, provision which has plurality is important so that peer group, single sex provision is supplemented by multi-age and multi-group provision to allow for women to choose the provision they require. A stereotype of a single sex provision for all Muslim women may not necessarily be an advance. Similarly, the need for a pedagogy which pays greater attention to pace, quality and clarity of instruction of the older learner, may have greater relevance to those who have not done well in their earlier schooling.

There is also a continuing need to monitor provision to ensure that it meets the needs of older students. This is necessary not only to ensure that access is available for provision but to evaluate the structural and resource implications of a class, since the elderly have a right to education. Since the take up of the educational provision is extremely low, estimated by Eric Midwinter to be between 1 or 2%[45] of a cohort group, the barriers to the take up require more detailed analysis as well as action. Similar issues are raised for the education of the elderly in France for a Report for UNESCO.[46]

vii. Knowledge, and the Elderly

A further major barrier to education for the elderly in culturally diverse Europe is the need to re-examine the knowledge basis of what is considered important and to

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[44] The Council for Educational Advance's Report, (1984).

[45] Midwinter, (1984), p.203.

[46] P.C.S.G. (1985).

ensure that the curriculum is inclusive of knowledge from a broad cultural pool[47]. If it is not, it will only replicate the inequalities. Knowledge from all cultures has relevance to all communities and not specifically to migrants. The Eurocentric basis of knowledge misinforms the European and alienates the others from learning.

The need to retrain the young elderly after the age of 55 requires attention as does the issue of education for those who are over 70. Both these groups require access to educational programmes and materials which are redesigned to meet the needs of learners and take into account their strengths and weaknesses according to their age and experience. While the young elderly may require retraining with credentials or qualifications, those who are older may be more interested in "participative learning". Since many of the elderly think of learning not only as a way of socialising but also of intimacy, then the standard lecture format may not be appropriate. A range of conditions may affect the learning processes of these elderly people. These include widowhood, vulnerability to crime, coping with authorities, hypertension and a range of health problems. The elderly from various migrant communities, therefore need to be educated through self-help which would assist them in building their coping skills and self-esteem. Moody defines the "hard path" and the "soft path" as two options available in such situations. While the "hard path" may reinforce "learned helplessness", the "soft path" by stressing "self-help" may allow these elderly people to bolster their confidence.[48] This stress on maintaining rigid separation between learning, work and leisure requires a certain amount of reconsideration. The elderly who have spent working lives in Europe may be more adept at developing, adjusting and coping skills. Those who have joined their families as dependants seem to have less understanding of the functioning of the public domain in society and are, therefore, less certain and confident about their ability to cope and develop survival skills. Yet, for both groups, an integrated learning programme which is able to collapse the boxes of learning, work and leisure and to have patches of productive work in later life can be extremely useful. This approach would give meaning to lifelong learning and not lose the long range considerations of learning, skills and abilities which are not related only to the corporate and work related learning. Moody warns against the short term view:

> because to see old age as a phase of life that is separated from past and future generations, and finally cut off from any shared future[49].

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[47] Gundara, J.S. (1990).

[48] Moody, (1986), p.204.

[49] Ibid: p.p. 208-209.

This is particularly poignant for the migrant elderly who see their past slip into oblivion. They require it not only to be reconstructed through autobiography as some of the older tenants have done at the working class Woodberry Down Estate in Hackney, inner London, in collating their memories,[50] but also to reconstruct it in conjunction with others in their local communities. This would allow both groups to make sense of each others' pasts and develop a common and shared understanding as they age on the same housing estate or in the same neighbourhood.

Teaching the elderly poses particularly difficult challenges in mixed communities. A useful model may be to follow Freire's notion of "collected and negotiated enterprises"[51] which can assist those in communities like Woodberry Downs to make sense of their lives. However, people who work with the elderly can operate better in such contexts if they receive appropriate training and support. The skills entailed would include the need for dialogue with older learners to bring about change in the curriculum and to introduce innovation[52]. This participatory mode of teaching and learning requires particular skills in teaching elderly people from diverse backgrounds. If successful, it allows the groups to be better able to cope, because it can, for instance, when learning literacy, make the learner aware of the world through which (s)he can reflect on the words and ultimately challenge the world represented by the words. The process is, however, complex because words and messages are misread and misunderstood. To bring about shared understanding in mixed groups, tutors require particular skills which are based on training tutors to become interculturally attuned. Unless tutors are able to grapple with this issue, the prospects of cross-cultural misunderstanding are very high. If this can be done, such diverse groups of learners, rather than being victims of change, could become producers of change.

viii. Two Examples of Provision

An example of such work at an intercultural level is provided by the Older Women's Project based in London. In this project, older women from different cultural groups are brought together. A question was why only women? Their response to the issue is that at the age of 60 there were twice as many women as men, rising to four times as many over the age of 80. Since none of the statutory social policy agencies make any provision for their needs, the need for this group became obvious and they were established in 1985, with an advisory body of older women from various backgrounds. This women's group works together collectively with no leaders although tutors do

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[50] Woodberry Down Memories Group, (1989).

[51] Battersby, (1987) p.4-11.

[52] Groombridge, (1987) pp. 19-31.

act as resource persons. Not only were health issues, physical exercise, self-defence, yoga and assertiveness training engaged in but they even brought in belly dancers to perform for them.

They are not a middle class group which deals with issues from safe material situations but a group of working class women who had experienced various disadvantages. The group has an equal opportunity policy and despite the fact that they are a multi-national group, they have few religious or racial problems. In fact, when racist language was used, the group was able to confront its members without the group breaking up. They dealt, in fact, not only with housing but transport needs and campaigns to present their perspectives and interests.

A further issue for both the male and female elderly is the social mobility of the younger generation from the inner city. This is an issue for families where the older people were left after the younger generation had moved away. In some cases, older Asian women themselves felt that they had had enough of the constraints and limitations placed on them by the extended family and wanted a certain amount of space, as they approached the "young elderly" age to become creative and acquire a sense of fulfilment. The functions of well trained tutors to be facilitators for women is of critical importance to increase their potential. Hence, for women in such groups a pre-determined provision was not necessarily required, as the provision needs to be negotiated in consultation with them.

A second Centre based in London which provides another type of provision is also worth mentioning. This is the Milap Centre based in the Southall area of London. This is not a single sex provision for the elderly but contains men and women, and is multifaith and multinational. The fact that this centre in a fairly traditional Asian neighbourhood provides service to a multifaith and multinational community, allows us to question the way in which further developments including research and action ought to be determined by ethnogerontologists. It may be a totally inappropriate usage of a little understood, largely misinterpreted field from North America. The definition of issues and the development of agenda and provision from outside Europe, unless it is critically appraised, is not necessarily appropriate.

The work of the Milap Centre with a membership of 1000 men and 337 women does mean that there are fewer women members than there ought to be. Since there is a great need for educational and social provision for the elderly, it ought to be set up for a greater range and group of people. It in fact requires single sex provision for men and women as well as mixed provision. The fact that a significant number of women are going to this Day Centre is a testimony to this need. This Centre also provides evidence of Asian women who would like to learn new things, open their minds to a different set of experiences. Their interests in a sense testify to the notions of releasing the resources

which they have acquired and the need to enhance their potential. The Women's Project and the Milap Centre testify to the strength of the case for entitlement to a lifelong and permanent education for women which is often currently denied them. These projects also help in breaking the stereotype that the elderly are consumers and not producers.

ix. The University of the Third Age - U3A.

A further consideration ought to be for large numbers of the elderly from migrant communities who can take part in a very different type of operation, namely more formal higher education. If all the educational provision is to exist within a framework and has universal and international implications, then the British University for the Third Age [U3A] is an important Project, since it can open up avenues for this large constituency.

As a new development in education for older people, such university provision started in France in the 1960's. The Third Age replaces 'old age' and is defined as an age of activity and participation in social life and leisure. It centres on the autonomy of older people and is presented as a period of self realisation, free from work and family responsibilities, a concept in total opposition to the traditional view of old age. There are active U3A groups in a number of areas throughout the country offering opportunities to participate in weekly lectures, small group seminars, recreational activities, practical craft work, research projects and social functions. Each group is set up on a local basis and each group is different. There is no uniform method or way to constitute such a group. Some have highly intellectual activities, others emphasise practical skills or entertainment. They are all based on the principle of skills exchange, with the aim of making older people aware of their aesthetic and intellectual potential; to improve the quality of life for older adults; to create an agency where there is no distinction between those who teach and those who learn and where as much as possible of the activity is voluntary, freely given by U3A members to U3A members.

The attraction of U3A is that it is run by older people for older people and no money changes hands. U3A groups give their members an autonomy to determine their own needs and make provision for those needs themselves. They give the U3A members a sense of worth which society by definition has taken away from them[53].

A similar programme to U3A in the USA is the elder hostel programme which is an international network of colleges and universities providing liberal arts education to retirement

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[53] See Dee and Bowen, (1986), op. cit. p.42.

age people.[54] A study was conducted in 1982 of elder hostel programmes to discover 'the personal, social and general intellectual growth' perceived by the older people. The very general conclusions revealed that elders were unanimous in their enthusiasm for the courses. Brady suggests that 'the knowledge that older students are experiencing various types of personal, social and intellectual growth should serve to encourage professional educators concerning the efficacy of their expressive type adult education programmes'[55].

Roger Cann argues the need for a range of learning experiences to supplement the formal provision of classes. He sees a need for a more informal approach to learning which includes the scope for 'incidental learning': 'An important aspect of learning is the creation of confidence in confirming of changing an individual's opinion. If opportunities are given for people to test their knowledge and abilities against others in a supportive environment, then incidental learning can create personal satisfaction and contribute significantly to changes in attitudes and perceptions'.[56] This potential contribution of the elderly in an intercultural context requires an empowerment of the hitherto disenfranchised groups, if the strengths of Peter Lasletts' eloquent arguments for U3A are to be realised.[57] This is important because currently the provision probably does not have an intercultural dimension, integrally reflected in its offerings of negotiated learning.

x. Enforced compulsory leisure

The enforced retirement as well as the question of ageing in a multicultural society require considered views of a range of social policy provisions so that rights and entitlements in this field are optimised. The migrant elderly community from many European countries does face a major problem of poverty. This is compounded as an issue where family support has ceased to exist because family structures have changed or eroded. The situation has also changed due to the dispersal of family members to work in other regions.

In the United Kingdom, the migrant communities are over-represented among groups which are living below the poverty line. In a survey undertaken by Age Concern in the United Kingdom, less than 45% of elderly Asians interviewed received any pension.[58] This is an indication of various

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[54] Brady, (1983).

[55] Ibid.

[56] Cann, (1989).

[57] Laslett, (1989).

[58] Hearnden, (1984).

things: many are ignorant that they can claim state welfare benefit or pension benefit; while others choose to ignore making a claim out of pride and embarrassment. If, as a Birmingham survey found, 88% of the Asians could not speak English, then the chances of benefits not being claimed may rest more on their ability to understand English.

Older Cypriots, Chinese, Vietnamese, Poles and others in the United Kingdom also have these difficulties. An approach on the part of social policy agencies which does not take into account the needs of economically poor linguistic and religious groups, places them in a situation of double jeopardy due to discrimination against the ageing population in general. There are, however, even graver problems confronting older, isolated women and/or illiterate women because they are triply jeopardised, due to the gender discrimination that is endemic in society.

As far as a social policy provision in various areas of need is concerned, it may have to be met from within the general and mainstream provision. Yet, the general and mainstream provision ought to be flexible and responsive to the needs of diverse communities. Since the needs of these communities are more complex than those of the rest of the ageing population, it ought not necessarily to be seen as being dealt with by specialist provision or officers who have very limited powers.

Further problems arise for those who live in rural or remote areas and who experience unemployment and have little or no access to the range of social policy provision necessary for survival.

The population of Europe is ageing rapidly. One person in five in the United Kingdom is of retirement age, and this is a new situation because in the late nineteenth century only one in twenty people were retired. The magnitude of this shift is reflected across European countries in the following table[59], although figures for Germany will change with its reunification.

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[59] Jouvenel, H. (1989)

Number of non-active people aged 60 and over in comparison to active population (per thousand)

[West] Germany	222	385	469	701
Belgium	311	424	468	671
Spain	179	376	452	544
France	235	361	386	560
Greece	153	366	494	559
Ireland	200	304	257	342
Italy	196	416	515	685
Luxembourg	219	388	470	734
The Netherlands	210	364	401	756
Portugal	158	263	313	428
United Kingdom	242	348	344	460

This population shift can either be viewed as representing an increased dependent group in Europe. Alternatively, it can be used to initiate a variety of new changes and opportunities. For instance, there is an increasing discussion about the flexibility of retirement age. With decreasing birthrates, this can be beneficial because it can allow a number of people to take up employment and to continue to work long after their current retirement age which is arbitrary. The implications for the long term unemployed, and under-employed are enormous because such flexibility along with proper training or retraining can ensure that these groups can be productive for longer periods of their lives. Such retraining and educational provision ought to be based on proper equal opportunity policies. There are three aspects to this.

i. Participation: Their participation rates in educational activity ought to be reflected in the take-up of the provision of training and employment.

ii. Resourcing: The resource allocation ought to reflect an appropriate preparation of government expenditure on total educational budget. Since the migrant community elderly have contributed their share of national income, this should be reflected in expenditure on their education.

iii. Policies and Practice: at central, regional and local government levels of practice ought to reflect provision of an intercultural nature to

meet the needs of the elderly from migrant communities, as well as the wider community.

The above issues obviously ought to be dealt with in conjunction with other areas of need within the social policy area. All elderly people including those from the migrant communities are themselves a resource. Their 'cost effectiveness' in a whole range of social policy areas, including education is represented by the enormous amount of voluntary work being done by the 'young elderly' and particularly the 65 to 75 year olds. The caring by this group even within families of other members of the family including older people is an added bonus of burden which is not imposed on the social and educational system. Yet, as racism and sexism limit the potential of large numbers of people so does ageism which makes for a powerful and lethal combination.[60]

The question of ageism and racism[61] will obviously be tested as the migrants who arrived in Europe and who are retiring after a lifetime of work increase in numbers. The indices of double and triple jeopardy in terms of the disadvantages because of race, sex and age are already to be seen in various aspects of social policy that impinge upon them.[62]

The Council of Europe, the European Community and the various governments can however seize the initiative by introducing a flexible and alternative provision to abrupt retirement which allows individual families, groups and communities to choose between leisure, education, training and paid and voluntary work. Unless, the various statutory bodies take this initiative for many of the retired migrant community population, the option is one of impoverished compulsory leisure. Hence, governments ought to take pre-emptive action before legal action by the Community under the Equal Treatment Directive of the Treaty of Rome is used. This ought to be undertaken within the context of full employment protection. If the divergence between the wealthy in Europe and the largely poor is not to be allowed to increased further, it requires the enactment of strong anti-discrimination codes, particularly against compulsory redundancy.

This flexibility in retirement has particular ramifications for pensions, particularly if the migrants who came to

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[60] Age Concern in their leaflet, 'What is Ageism' describe it as follows:

> Ageism at its worst is discrimination against people simply because of their age. At best ageism is ignoring the individual of each elderly person.

[61] UDACE, 919880 p.8.

[62] Dowd and Bengston, (1978).
Norman, (1985).
Fenton, (1987).

Europe at various points in their lives did not work for enough years to qualify for an adequate pension. The flexibility ought to allow these disadvantaged members of the European work force to be able to work for a longer period to improve their old age and pension rights, between the age of 60 and 70 years, but not as a reserve army of labour - a role which the migrant labour has already fulfilled during their working lives.

Similarly, the different retirement ages between men and women contravene the EC Equal Treatment Directive.

Since all the EC countries are bound by the Treaty of Rome and the settled workers have equal rights, there ought not to be discrimination between men and women workers. As Alan Walker states:

> Another important decision was made by the European Court in 1986 in the Belka-Kaufhaus case. Here the court ruled that pension rights constituted 'pay' under Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome[63].

This and many other rulings, according to Walker, would be translated to substantive law by implementation of the principle of equal treatment by the Council of Ministers. However, the role of education in the Third Age, ought to be seen as part and parcel of a persons' whole life, not just a preparation and training for specific roles and functions. This can only be done if there is a consistent policy on issues of education, employment, retirement and old age. In the post-world war period, the older workers have been very badly treated by being asked either to leave the workforce, when not needed or to stay because of the shortage of workers. The elderly from the migrant communities have been particularly vulnerable in these respects, particularly because neither ageism nor racism are indicators or predictors of performance.

This report bases its case for educational provision for the elderly not only on compassionate grounds, but also on genuine interests of society. The more preventative and comprehensive social policy provision there is, the more economical it is for society, because it helps to postpone their institutionalisation which is expensive. Hence, the more comprehensive social policy provision ensures that the migrant community elderly families are able to stay together, the more cost effective it is for society. Their physical, mental, familial and social well being ensures that they do not have to rely on the state to look after them. The strong family structures are in fact, an invisible saving for the state because of the caring which goes on outside society's institutional framework. An educational provision which strengthens this is obviously useful for such structures of self-help.

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[63] Walker, (1990), p.14.

Such educational provision which, within the larger social policy provision, is able to utilise the knowledge and experience of the migrant community elderly to teach, as well as learn, needs to be supplemented by providing guidance and counselling, since a number of the elderly harbour insecurities about their ability to learn. Hence, connections between vocational and non-vocational as well as formal and informal structures are important.

Tom Schuller argues for material support for both providers and students to encourage demand and supply of provision. This stimulation of provision through out-reach work, should be based on education entitlements for those who have not benefited from basic educational provision in the first instance[64]. Hence those who did not receive good initial education and had greater need for it, would have the option to this entitlement.

In Canada, both at the Ontario provincial level and at the national level, thought and consideration have been devoted to the issue of ageing in a multicultural society. This experience does provide some useful insights which should be analysed for their relevance to situations in Europe[65]. Very recent publications in the United Kingdom on the position of the elderly do not in fact, examine the intercultural issues in relation to the multicultural nature of British society. It is also probably true that issues of interculturalism for the elderly in various European contexts are still not receiving any priority at the national level, the European Community or the European Parliament level. While the various reports and documents make gestures towards intercultural issues, they are a long way away from tackling the substantive issues raised, which have implications for all European societies[66]. In the field of adult and continuing education, there have been some developments and thinking which might help the education of the elderly and the long term unemployed from an intercultural context[67].

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[64] Schuller and Walker, (1990).

[65] Canadian Public Health Association (1988).
OACSC (1989).

[66] Schuller and Walker (1990)
See also, Caring for People (HMSO 1990)

[67] Gundara, J.S. (1988 and 1989).

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

As this report was being finalised, The European Parliament's enquiry into racism and xenophobia was published. It reveals a rising tide of racism across Europe. Mr. Glyn Ford, MEP, the rapporteur of the Committee of Enquiry, in introducing the enquiry report, warned of the danger of creating an underclass of exploited labour within Europe[46]. However, the argument could be made that such an underclass already exists and that action to dismantle it is long overdue.

However, the E.C. Committee of Enquiry report does put forward suggestions that are an essential prerequisite for effective action in relation to the migrant communities' needs, including the specific needs that have been discussed in this report.

In particular, there is clearly a need for acceptance across Europe, and not just within the E.C., of a European Resident's Charter of the kind that is put forward in the Committee of Enquiry's report. The extension of full rights to migrants after five years's legal residence is a particularly valuable suggestion. The case of the Turkish community in Germany underlines this issue.

Furthermore, within any such charter, there should be a specific European Race Relations Directive to help in the struggle against discrimination and overt racism.

Such legislation would help to create a sense of legality and belonging to many migrant communities who currently live on the margins of European Society. Only with such a sense of belonging will the sort of activities and policies outlined in this report have any impact on the needs of the long term unemployed and the elderly within the migrant communities of Europe.

A further general conclusion is that, although the elderly and the long term unemployed throughout Europe have many concerns in common, those who are also members of migrant communities have the added burden of being the recipients of hostility at the individual, community and institutional level. If their needs are not met, the ultimate social cost to European society will be enormous.

The European organisations like the Council of Europe and the European Community have a special role to play as they can rise above narrow ethnocentricisms and can take a longer term view of the issues involved. They can also assist in the legitimation of appropriate national policies in this area, for they are often electorally unpopular, or at least are seen as such by many policies within individual states.

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[46] Quoted in The Independent, July 24th, 1990.

In relation to the specific concerns of this report, the major recommendation is for more information and study. In particular, we know too little about the educational needs within an intercultural context of the elderly from the migrant communities and the community as a whole. That, from their own needs being met, this group has untapped potential to assist in the social solidarity and integration of their group and of the whole society of which they are a part.

Europe needs to learn from the experiences of other societies where work, although still at a similar early stage, may provide useful insights. In particular, work done in North America needs to be closely examined, for, although seemingly in advance, much of the thinking and practice within Europe, it is by no means so certain that crude educational "borrowing" will be as helpful as an initial examination might suggest.

In recommending the further study of the issues, the authors of this report are well aware that this may seem a typical academic procrastination. It is not. In working on the educational needs of the elderly from the migrant communities, any investigation is struck by the relative dearth of information.

However, if the educational needs of the elderly migrants can be closely examined, and as a result, practical policies can be implemented, great benefit will follow and not only to the individual elderly people concerned. If European society can provide effective educational opportunities for such people, in all their richness, the effect on the communities within which they live will be marked. The elderly themselves will have more of a contribution to make, to society at large and to their community in particular. This in turn will encourage those members of the migrant community who are currently (and correctly in many cases) disenchanted with the way the wider society deals with their community to start to perceive that society values their presence and the contribution that they have made to the post war prosperity of much of Western Europe. To this end, the Council of Europe and the CDCC should work towards a Charter of Rights of the Elderly in a European intercultural context.

The writers of the Report see potential great benefit from increased study and activity in this area. Sadly, this optimism does not carry through to the study of the educational needs of the long term unemployed from the migrant communities.

This pessimism is due to at least two factors. The first is that the operation of the labour market in many European states in practice if not in intention, continues to create higher rates of unemployment and longer periods within it, for many people from the migrant communities, particularly its more vulnerable members, namely the young and the

poorly qualified.

The second is that unless the formal educational systems achieve greater success with the migrant communities' children, these children will become the young adults and in time the elderly who are poorly qualified and who will have considerably greater difficulty in re-entering learning in an effective manner at any subsequent point in their lives than other young people.

Thus it could be argued that the most effective way of dealing with the educational needs of the long term unemployed from the migrant communities is to improve the compulsory education system so that higher levels of qualification are achieved and also that the children of the non-migrant communities are given a sound intercultural education that will enable them to resist the enticing blandishments of racism and narrow nationalism.

This emphasis on the improvement of schooling for all our children within an intercultural framework does not mean that education action for the long term unemployed from the migrant communities is unlikely to succeed. Far from it. However, it has to be admitted that such action as has been carried out, such as variations in the North American mentor scheme, although more valuable for the participants, cannot be widely replicated.

Finally, we would wish to support the statement made by Johan Engelhardt in his report to the Council of Europe. In relation to educational initiatives for the long term unemployed, he listed two essential factors, namely:

> The first one is that the long term unemployed prefer jobs to training or education.
>
> The second one is that you cannot solve the problems of unemployment by education. This is the realistic starting point[69].

We would only add a critical third factor to those listed by Engelhardt. That is, for the migrant communities, both for their long term unemployed and the elderly, educational initiatives can only be effective if they recognise and attempt to confront and defeat the xenophobic racism and discrimination that adds further marginalisation to that experienced by other elderly and unemployed Europeans.

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[69] Englehardt, (1988), p.5.

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